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ADDRESS

TO THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE OF MAINE:

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to address you in behalf of the State Convention of Republican Delegates, which assembled at Augusta on the 20th day of June last.

It cannot have escaped you that a momentous crisis has arrived in the progress of our Republican system. Antagonist principles, as well as opposing parties, are contending for the supremacy. Two distinct lines of policy for the administration of national affairs are marked.

His favorite measure for giving "stability to the Government," and curbing what one of his associates (Robert Morris) designated as the "turbulence of Democracy," was a *National Bank*, connected with a National Funding System similar to that of Great Britain. He considered it necessary to incorporate into our system a "permanent body" to act as a check upon the popular voice. Having failed to accomplish that object in the construction of the Executive or Senate, he turned his attention to the inmost interest of the country, to whom he desired to give a peculiar stake in the Government, and a controlling influence in its administration. If the prevalence of the one will prove a public benefit, that of the other will as surely possess and exercise, as electors, in common with the spirit of the Constitution, and adapted with the spirit of our Republican system of government, the other must, of necessity, be *Thomas Jefferson* at their head, took the field in opposition to Hamilton's schemes. They subversive of the Constitution and dangerous to Liberty. Upon you, in the exercise of your constitutional rights, it devolves to decide which, govern themselves. They resisted the bank project of Hamilton, as one of those violations of the Constitution and enlargements of federal power, which, they feared, would entail upon us an irresponsible Government under the Republican form—beguile us with the shadow of freedom, while siphoning away its substance.

Resistance to federal encroachment proved ineffectual for the time. Hamilton's policy received the sanction of Congress. Federalism, in the hands of a few, and institutions beyond the reach of the many, are the objects for which he openly clamors or secretly sighs. He is a Republican only by compulsion, uneasy dissatisfied, ever looking back towards the political Sodoms of irresponsible power, advancing with halting and uncertain steps. Such men were the Tories of the Revolution. They clung with death-like tenacity to the footstool of the British throne. They denied the capacity of the people of the United Colonies to achieve their independence and maintain a separate Government. The great majority of the people, however, rallied under the banner of the *fearless* and the *free*; the war for independence was crowned with that success which a just Providence awards to the upright and the tory or timid party, as opposers of independence, were defeated and covered with disgrace.

They next made their appearance in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States—still afraid of a Government of the People—their partialities for the British system still unshaken—their hostility to entrusting the rights of the mass to their own keeping still undiminished. Under Alexander Hamilton, their great leader, they signalized themselves by propositions to incorporate into our federated system a President for life, with an absolute veto on Congress; a Senate for life; and a privileged class, still more extensive, and equally powerful, by conferring upon Congress the right to establish corporations. (a) In all these respects they were happily deluded. A Government confined to officers responsible to the people and removable by them at short intervals.

But this party did not even then relax their opposition to the principle of self-government. No sooner was the Constitution ratified, than they set about engraving upon it, by construction, grants of power which were not only not absolute, but absolutely refused in the convention which framed it. They assumed the name of *Federalists*, i. e. friends of the Federal Union, which they asserted could be preserved only by the interpretation of the Constitution, and the adoption of their principles in the administration of the Government—Hamilton, who still con-

tinued to be their leader, avowed that a Government based upon the patriotism and intelligence of the people could not endure; declared his preference for the British form of Gov-

ernment over that of our own; and, in his capacity of Secretary of the Treasury, brought forward and urged, with partial success, a variety of measures calculated to enlarge the sphere of action of the General Government, and remove it further from the people, whom he believed to be incapable of determining its policy, and directing its operations. (b)

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The opposing policy is not content with the apportionment of power provided by the Constitution. It seeks to take from the people's government both the custody and control of the public treasure, and to confer them upon bank-corporations, in the selection of whose officers the people, at large, have no agency, who represent dollars instead of persons, and who are substantially irresponsible either to the people or the constituted authorities of the country. This would be to strip the people's government of the better half of its power; for what avail it that Congress can make war, and the President command the army, if the public treasury from which most come the pay and provision of the army, be not within their control. The power that holds the public treasure is that upon which all others must depend.

Deprive the government of its funds, and you take its life-blood. Confer the control of those funds upon a privileged class, and you reduce the government to a state of dependence, not upon the people, but upon the fundholders—you abolish the government of the people, and establish upon its ruins a government above the people.

Examine the project brought forward by the party, which, under a variety of names, have been arrayed against Republican Principles. It is, in brief, as presented by their great leader (Mr Clay) to incorporate certain favored individuals into a National Bank with a capital of fifty millions of dollars; to endorse all the notes they may issue by making them a legal tender in payment of public dues; to confer upon them the money contributed by the people for the support of government, not to be kept for public uses, but to be loaned to themselves and their favorites, on the condition that they give the government credit, on their books for the amount of money thus taken and converted to private purposes!

The objections to such a corporation, confined merely as a Fiscal Agent of the government, are numerous and palpable. That no

Alien and Sedition laws. The political revolution which was consummated by the elevation of Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of American Democracy, restored the Government to the republican tack. The anti-slavery measures of Hamilton and the elder Adams were indignantly repudiated by a majority of the people—the alien and sedition laws ejected from the statute book, and the national bank left, unreprieved, to undergo the sentence pronounced by the people. From that day to this, Federalism has achieved an open triumph, it owes the little success it has got, to deception and disguise. Professing great attachment to Republicanism when seeking power, it has invariably manifested a deadly hostility to it, when power has been obtained.

We trust that this brief recurrence to the early history of parties will not be deemed inappropriate. In times like the present, we should turn with anxious eyes to the events of the past as the surest guide to a correct judgment for the future. Especially appropriate is this recurrence from the fact, that by a somewhat remarkable train of events, we are brought back to the very issue which was made up forty-seven years ago between Jefferson Democrats on the one hand, and Hamiltonian Federalists on the other. We are now called upon to establish a National Bank, on the ground that the Government provided by the Constitution is insufficient to answer the ends of society, by giving stability and protection to its rights.

What is this but urging us to make war on the Constitution? We are called upon to entrust the keeping to the public treasure to a power not kept to the Constitution, or responsible to the people, on the ground that officers selected by the people are not, and can not be, competent or trustworthy in that particular. What is this but a demand upon us to abandon the principle of self-government, which our fathers thought cheaply maintained at the peril to their lives? We are called upon to give to their wealth a peculiar stake in the Government and a controlling influence in its administration, on the ground that such a course framed it. They assumed the name of *Federalists*, i. e. friends of the Federal Union, and the prosperity of the country. What is this but asking us to acknowledge that the experiment of a Republican Government, based upon an equality of political rights among its citizens, has failed; and an invitation to us to try the federal experiment of substituting for the Government of the people, in one of its departments, at least a Government of the banks?

This project is further objectionable, because it is inconsistent with the spirit of Republicanism. It confers upon a few individuals an Exclusive Privilege, of more value and more desirable than any title of nobility. The value attached to their notes, by making them a legal tender to government, would be the foundation of unbounded credit, and the sale of that credit a source of immense wealth. If the government is thus to be made the instrument of aggrandizing a few at the expense of the many, what does it avail that it retains the republican form? What avails it that its founders carefully prohibited the granting of titles of nobility, if the

means of wealth, power and distinction are thus appropriated to the public money. The policy of the Democratic Party would leave these lavishly to be conferred upon an Aristocracy of Corporate Successors—a rank in the State not, indeed, to be acquired by the right of birth or as the reward of noble deeds, but to be purchased by dollars and cents! It is dangerous further, because it proposes, to endow the aristocracy thus established with the first attribute of sovereignty—the custody and control of the public money, which cannot at all times command the means of its support. To establish a government which should be able at all times to do so, was one great object in substituting our present Constitution for the articles of Confederation. The patriarchs of the Revolution thought they had secured this object by conferring upon Congress the power to lay and collect taxes, and by providing that the taxes, when collected, should be kept in the Treasury until required by Congress for public uses. But this project of a national bank proposes to render this provision a nullity, by handing the public purse over to an incorporated aristocracy, who may or may not agree to the propriety of the expenditures ordered by Congress. It was in this view that Mr. Jefferson said of a national bank: "This institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing, against the principles and form of our constitution. Suppose a series of untoward events should occur, sufficient to bring into doubt the competency of Republican Government to meet a crisis of great danger, or to unhinge the confidence of the people in the public functionaries; an institution penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting by command and in phalanx, may, in a critical moment, upset the government. I do not fear that the money which is under the vassalage of his own passions and the promotion of his own interests, that for the welfare of the people who should be unwise enough to entrust their destiny to his hands."

The truth is, that a currency composed principally or entirely of paper, which has no intrinsic value, is susceptible of, if not necessarily subject to, fluctuations, destructive to the rights of property, the success of business, and the fruits of labor, and dangerous to civil liberty. The defect is in the currency itself. The only remedy is the reform of the currency. Money cannot too much abound; but its substitute or shadow—the promise to pay it in the absence of money itself, run riot with the business and property of the country. A currency containing a proper proportion of the precious metals, which possess an intrinsic value independent of all legislative enactments, needs no other regulation than the laws of trade. They can commit no mistake in judgment and have no selfish ends to gratify by intentional wrong. The restoration of the precious metals for small bank notes, to that state in which it shall need no arbitrary regulating, is the first end and aim of the republican policy. Its success would strip banking corporations of much of their power over the business and property of the country—and hence the violent and despotic war waged by many of them against the national administration—but it would establish the rights of property and the rewards of industry upon a firm basis, and thus add incalculably to the permanence and efficiency of our republican system.

We have had some late experience of the power of a National Bank, aided by the credit of the Government and the use of the public money, not only over the Legislature and the public press, but over the country. The late Bank of the United States, with a view, as it is supposed, to obtain a deep hold upon the public, preparatory to its application for a recharter, during the year 1831, increased its loans one-half—twenty millions of dollars. The banks who were regulated by it, increased their loans as a matter of course, and with this sudden inflation of the currency commenced the overtrading which characterized the six years preceding 1837, and of which we have been reaping the bitter fruits. Our imports in 1831 rose at a single bound from seventy to one hundred and three millions of dollars. The recharter of the bank was refused, and the public money removed from its control. Its President then declared that a contraction of its loans became necessary preparatory to the winding up of its concerns at the expiration of its charter. The contraction was made, and the regulated banks were obliged to contract in proportion. This produced the distress and embarrassment which characterized the panic year, 1834. But the U. S. Bank had not obtained sufficient hold on the State banks or the people to accomplish its purposes. No sooner did it fail in the fall of 1834, than it commenced another inflation of the currency. From December, 1834, to July 1835, its discounts were enlarged twenty millions of dollars—a rapidity of expansion unprecedented in the history of banking. What was the result? The seven hundred regulated banks from December, 1834, to July, 1835, increased their loans about one hundred and eighty millions of dollars! The consequence was, that from 1834 to 1836 our imports increased from one hundred and twenty six to one hundred and eighty nine millions of dollars! A constantly swelling flood of overbanking, over-trading and wild speculation swept over the land from the marble palace at Philadelphia to the

(a) Among the enumerated powers given to Congress, was one to erect corporations. It was on debate struck out. Several particular powers were then proposed.

Among others, by Robert Morris to give Congress power to establish a national bank, Governor Morris opined it was extremely doubtful whether the Constitution they were framing could ever pass, at all by the people of America; that to give it the best chance, however, they should make it as possible as possible, and put nothing into it that was not essential, which might raise up enemies, as his colleague (Robert Morris) well knew that a bank, was in their State (Pennsylvania) the great bone of contention between the two parties of the country, from the establishment of their Constitution, having been erected, put down, and again erected, either party preponderated; that therefore to give this power, would instantly enrage against the whole instrument, the whole of the anti-bank party in Pennsylvania. Whereupon it was rejected, as was every other special power, except that of giving copyrights to authors and patents to inventors; the general power of incorporation being whittled down to this state. (Jefferson to T. Jefferson—Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, p. 453.)

(b) "It is my opinion, that the present Government is not that which will answer the ends of society, by giving stability and protection to its rights, and that it will probably be found to go into the British form." (Declaration of A. Hamilton to T. Jefferson—Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, p. 453.)

(c) Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, p. 210.

(d) Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, p. 600.

remotest corner of the Republic. The State, fed with a bank or banks and loaned to individuals ready at all times to answer the calls of policy which you may not abandon at any moment.

Congress; and thus renders the Government of the People independent of "any self-conceit in those produced by the ruinous expansions of the same National Bank at an earlier period of its existence. The reflux of the tide in 1837, prostrated the banks of the country—an independence which, as we have seen, swept away the fortunes of many, and brought Mr. Jefferson deemed essential to the safety of our Republican Institutions.

This embarrassment and distress upon all—

3d. It diminishes Executive Patronage, and the power of public servants to sustain themselves in wrong doing by corrupt means. The patronage arising from the connection of Government with a fifty million bank, acting as the head of the banking interest of the country, would be of a most dangerous character, operating not upon isolated individuals, but upon the common pecuniary interests of an organized host of wealthy and influential citizens. The power which this connection would enable an ambitious Chief Magistrate to exercise, by conciliating the support of this organized host through the promotion of their pecuniary interests, would far exceed in amount the whole power vested in him by the Constitution as the Head of the Executive Department. The separation of Bank and State not only hedges up the way to the exercise of this enormous power but operates as a complete divorce of the public money from corrupt use. There is no patronage and can be no corruption connected with the custody of the public money separate from its use. It is the right to use the public money for private purposes, which subjects us to the danger of corruption; and it is the very essence of the republican policy that it cuts off all this dangerous patronage and corruption, by sacredly keeping the public money in the public treasury for public uses only.

4th. It will operate incidentally to check over issues by the banks, which produce violent fluctuations and revulsion in our currency, while the antagonist system directly tends to aggravate them. Under a system of bank deposits, the money paid for duties on one cargo today, may be to-morrow to pay the duties on another. This second sum doubles the deposit, and the next day the bank has, nominally, money enough to lend, to pay the duties on two cargoes. So the money, paid to day for a section of public lands, may to-morrow be used to purchase another, the next day two, and so on. Thus the means of overtrading increase with its excess; and the check comes when too late, in a commercial revision arising from abuses of credit. But if the public money be kept in the Treasury, it operates as a constant and undeviating check on the excesses of credit and trade. The imports of foreign goods and the sales of public land cannot become excessive without an accumulation of money in the Treasury—and this accumulation instead of increasing, diminishes in the direct ratio of its amount the means of sustaining and prolonging the excess.

We have thus briefly, and we hope, candidly, reviewed the great question now pending between the republican party and its opponents. If our views of its paramount importance be correct, any defence of republican men or measures against the numerous and reckless assaults made upon them would be to trespass on your patience unnecessarily. Let no man be influenced by bold denunciations and unsupported assertions. Let him rather inquire if it may not be their object to disguise some vital question and keep it out of sight. Let no Republican be induced to vote for the establishment of a monarchical bank of the United States under the pretence of voting for the reform of abuses which do not exist. (c)

To say that the present administration of the Government is free from fault or defect would be to claim for it exemption from the common lot of humanity. That it is sincerely attached to the PRINCIPLES OF REPUBLICANISM, and determined to prosper only by their triumph, we do firmly believe. That it has done much to check the growing power of associated wealth, which has been well characterized as the *dynasty of modern States*; and that its supporters by the people will prove an impassable barrier to the dangerous pretensions of the monied interest, and their unwholesome aspirations for political power, is best demonstrated by a hostility to it, on their part, which will not stop short of its overthrow, and is even now whetting the knife for indiscriminate proscription of its supporters. It stands, where Thomas Jefferson and his associates stood, upon the Republican platform of '98, battling manfully for a strict construction of the Constitution, against the establishment of a National Bank, against subjecting the Government or the people to the vagrancy of self-constituted authorities, or of any other authority than that of the nation or its regular functionaries. It asks for the exercise of no power not conferred by the Constitution—it desires no grant of authority not

(c) If there has been unnecessary expenditure by the Government—and when has there not? the remedy is to audit our receipt, by the selection of Representatives pledged to low taxes and moderate expenditures. The President has not expended, and cannot expend, a single dollar, nor did he propose to expend by express law of Congress. The Heads of Departments, under his direction, have annually submitted estimates of the necessary appropriations. Congress has directed him to expend, in the last two years, forty-six millions over and above the estimates submitted. With Congress rests the responsibility of this increase, and with our opponents in Congress the responsibility not only of having so largely voted for it, and thus overborne the great body of the republican members who stood out against it, but of having voted for a still further increase of more than ten millions, the very last session, which was prevented only by the untiring and vigilant opposition of the republican party. Under these circumstances, we can judge whether we are likely to gain any thing, even in this respect, by taking power from the party which has majority of which has opposed an increase of expenditures, and giving it to a party which has in a hasty assembly of the largest increase; and whether the true remedy is not to hold our Representatives individually responsible for the manner in which they vote away the public money.

2d. It provides that the money contributed by the people for the support of Government, shall be kept on hand (instead of being deposited

revocable at your pleasure—it proposes no the republican triumphs by which her soil has been so often consecrated, the well known, often avowed and long cherished principles of a majority of her citizens unite to forbid it. We

If it fall, the RUBICON IS PASSED—you have taken a step which you cannot retrace—confered a power which you cannot revoke—enlisted upon yourselves a宿命 which, however galling and fatal to liberty it may prove, must baffle the present generation! (f) JEALOUSY

or FEAR, especially of power in irresponsible hands, is at once the surest indication of liberty and the best guaranty of its continuance. Our fathers hesitated long before they conferred a few specific and limited powers upon officers selected by the people, responsible to the people, and by them removable at short intervals. Has that wholesome jealousy of power forsaken us, their descendants, that we should vote away almost unlimited power, beyond recall, into the hands of officers, in whose selection we have no agency who are to be legally irresponsible to us, and practically responsible to none? Are we weary of the experiment of self-government, instituted by our fathers, that we should assent to the establishment in our midst of a power above the government of the people, and above us its lawful sovereigns? Do we regret that we did not make a President and Senate for life, that we should confer upon a privileged class greater power for a longer term? Is it untrue that all men were "created free and equal," that we should confer a sovereignty, of which we are weary, upon a despotic bank, to be sold in the stock-market to those who can pay the highest price? For the sake of liberty, we trust not!

The present is a time when it behoves every Republican, who is imbued with the true principles of our Government, and mindful of the dangers we escaped in its early days, to exert himself to the utmost. The federal or monarchical party, aided by the votes of those who are regardless of the old landmarks, and in alliance with the political-banking interest of the country, are assuming a formidable aspect. (g) Taking advantage of pecuniary distress, wantonly produced, and more wantonly prolonged by their powerful ally, they have captured the outposts of the republican camp, and even now fancy themselves clothed with political supremacy. To doubt that they are doomed to disappointment would be to distrust the patriotism and capacity of the freest, best informed, happiest and most powerful people the world over saw. This is not the first time when panic and distress have given the enemies of Republicanism temporary success, which seems to be the fore-runners of a permanent triumph. These successes have been the unerring signal for a general rally of the republican party, to the defence of republican liberty, and for the entire overthrow of their federal opponents. As it has been, it will be now. The tendency of their measures is becoming more apparent every day, their power to excite panic and inflict distress is well-nigh spent, and they are destined to return from the approaching contests disappointed, defeated and disgraced in their attempt to drive a republican people under the lash of pecuniary suffering, into abandonment of long cherished principles.

The Convention who delegated to us the duty of addressing you, assembled for the purpose of selecting a candidate for the office of Governor. Their choice fell, with unprecedented unanimity, upon JOHN FAIRFIELD, in present a Republican Representative in Congress from the County of York. Of spotless integrity, talents of a high order, tried attachment to the principles of Republicanism, unwavering devotion to the rights of his own State, thorough acquaintance with its diversified wants and interests, and gifted with a firmness of purpose and fearlessness in action rarely surpassed, he is emphatically the man for the present crisis—to whose hands may be safely entrusted the important interests of Maine, and especially the great question of our N. E. Boundary. The Republican Electors will rally around him with pride and enthusiasm, not only because he bears the ancient standard of their principles, but because of the virtues, talents and services, which illustrate the man.

Our annual election is at hand. The eyes of the Republican Party of the Union are upon us. The battle of principle is to be fought, and we are to strike the first blow. The result is big with consequences, for good or for evil, to the cause of Republican liberty. This is not a time when any elector is authorized to act a neutral or indifferent part. A single vote may have an important bearing upon the result of the election, and the policy of the country for half a century! For fifteen out of seventeen years of her separate existence, Maine has been a Republican State. The State Government is now by the division and remissness of the Republican party, in the hands of men pledged to the principles and policy which Hamilton supported, and which Jefferson opposed. Shall it remain so? Shall Republican Maine be again numbered among the jews of Federalism? Her ancient character,

(f) Mr. Clay proposes for his fifty million bank a charter, irreverently for fifty years, securing to it the possession of the public money, the use of the public credit, and the complete control of the currency, and, through that, of the business of the country.

(g) Mr. Jefferson, in December, 1825, speaking of the federal party said,—"Consolidation becomes the first chapter in the next book of their history. But this opens with a discussion of strength from their younger recruits, who are living mostly in them of the feelings or principles of '76, now look to the grand and splendid Government of an aristocracy founded on banking institutions, and manuf. incorporations under the guise and cloak of their favored branches of manufacture, commerce and navigation, riding and ruling over the ploughed, rough and beggarly ground. This will be to them the next best blessing to the monarchy of Jefferson's Works, vol 4, p 423. These words of the Patriarch of Democracy should sink deep into the hearts of those professed republicans who find themselves advocating the doctrines of Hamilton and his fellow monarchists.

and will appeal to the prejudices—talk about the boundaries, rail and rave about the Sub-Treasury Bill and Paton's Resolution, still the great issue remains with us. There may be honest differences of opinion on other subjects, whereas political distinct and separate, but have they ever manifested such a spirit of disunion as this great question, shall not interfere with the result of the election? In this question a man vote at Kent. If Kent is a deposit to an evil, like, and as is mining the mineral into the hands of the Bankers—it is not for the expenses of the government some action must be taken in a year, then vote for Kent. If you wish that the power should go to the people, where our Constitution gives it, let it go to the people, and to transmit that freedom to your posterity," says fairfield. This is not aggregation, we hold it to be a sober truth.

Shall the Banks or the people rule? Dispute it, eastern bound or western bound, up the tree or eastern bound, rail and rave about the Sub-Treasury Bill and Paton's Resolution, still the great issue remains with us. There may be honest differences of opinion on other subjects, whereas political distinct and separate, but have they ever manifested such a spirit of disunion as this great question, shall not interfere with the result of the election? In this question a man vote at Kent. If Kent is a deposit to an evil, like, and as is mining the mineral into the hands of the Bankers—it is not for the expenses of the government some action must be taken in a year, then vote for Kent. If you wish that the power should go to the people, where our Constitution gives it, let it go to the people, and to transmit that freedom to your posterity," says fairfield. This is not aggregation, we hold it to be a sober truth.

TO THE DEMOCRACY OF OXFORD.

The 10th of September is hard by. Democrats, are you ready for the issue? The great contest is soon to be decided, and it is for you to say whether victory or defeat and disgrace. On you, perhaps, depends the result of the election. Our friends in other parts of the State are full of hope and interest, and are preparing with vigor, to "run the run set before them;" but they are still looking with confidence to Democratic Oxford for a helping hand. Are you willing that their confidence should be misplaced? Will you prove recreant to the trust reposed in you? Is not one year of federal sufficiency? Have you not seen enough of whig profession and whig practice? Are you willing that Maine, hitherto a bright Star in our political firmament, should be shrouded another year in federal darkness?

Let your answer be returned through the Ballot Box. The present is no common crisis. Never has the interest of our cause called upon you more imperatively to be "up and doing." The whigs are playing a desperate game, and are determined to retain their ill gotten power at all hazards, if human means can avail. Aware of the desperate condition of their sinking ship, the powers of the three worlds combined, are invoked for their salvation. Their desperate ends require desperate means. And you are now called upon to decide whether their object shall be accomplished by such means.

But you are not only to determine who shall be our next Governor, and what shall be the character of our State administration, but you are called upon to act up to measures which concern the whole country.

By your votes are you to decide whether your attachment to the principles upon which Democracy is based, remains unchanged, or whether you are willing that federalism shall come off with a triumph. By your votes are you to show whether the important measures which have been proposed by the men of your own choice for the good of the country, and which are now before the people for their approval or rejection, shall receive your sanction and support, or whether you will countenance the doings of a powerful and reckless opposition, who in their own language are "struggling for prevention, rather than the attainment of any positive benefit." By your votes are you to signify your choice, whether the people shall continue to have a voice in the administration of our government, or whether you are willing it should pass into the hands of a party "who rise as the country sinks, and who sink as the country rises." By your votes are you called upon to choose between a government of your own choice, founded upon an equality of rights and privileges, and supported by a free and enlightened public opinion, and a government whose object is the good of the few at the expense of the many, and supported by the anti-republican influence of power and wealth combined. These are subjects now before you, and upon which you are now called upon to act—And are you ready for action? If not, then defeat and everlasting disgrace will be the result. But this cannot be. There is too much virtue and intelligence among you—too much patriotism—too great a regard for your own interests, and for those of the country, to suggest such a result. Awake, then, and put on your strength, and be ready for action.

Strike for your stars and your fires. Z

FEDERAL PULLIES

To be had at this Office. Town Committees will do well to supply themselves in season. All orders promptly attended to.

ZADOC LONG'S ADDRESS.

We find in the Portland Advertiser an Address to the Electors of Oxford County, purporting to be from Zadoc Long, the federal candidate for Congress from this District. The paper says—"Mr. Long stands at the present time most to be approved for a position of this importance, to which under other circumstances the article of his worthiness will entitle him. His gentlemanly deportment, and the frankness of his immediate neighborhood, might in itself alone give him a high place in the estimation of the public, without obstruction, save from enemis, if not entitled to respect. But intoxicated with the honor of being a federal candidate for Congress, his vanity has overleaped his talents, and that modesty so characteristic of his party has been lost. Before the people the evidence of his qualifications for the just mentioned office, by the partiality of his friends. A man of less independence than Mr. Long might be contented with the honor of being called a statesman, and leave to others the duty of electing him. But perhaps no man may have reached his ears of the distrust entertained by his own party of his qualifications, and their avowal of the mortification of his election. Under these peculiar circumstances he has thought himself justified in doing what he did to public sentiment and to his own native modesty, in endeavoring to shield and protect his constituents. How far this later effort satisfies the doubts of his party it is for them not us to decide, but we cannot forbear the remark, that if it accomplishes the desired object of its author, a reputation for talents and political knowledge more easily acquired with than he had supposed, and the character of a federal candidate, did they entertain."

And judging from the past, what may be expected will be the corrupt characters above drawn, and the belligerency of the federal party. What are the means, and what is the course pursued by the federal party to gain the ascendancy in this State? How have they opened the political campaign, the issue of which will be decided at the ballot box on the second Monday of Sept. next at 11 A.M.

And judging from the past, what may be expected will be the corrupt characters above drawn, and the belligerency of the federal party. What are the means, and what is the course pursued by the federal party to gain the ascendancy in this State? How have they opened the political campaign, the issue of which will be decided at the ballot box on the second Monday of Sept. next at 11 A.M.

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We must be on our guard against the people, which profit by experience. The tricks hitherto played by the federal party upon the people have become stale, and therefore will not be considered "available." But rely upon it, others of a similar cast, will be conjured up, and painted upon the people, unless vigilance is continually upon the alert; for their very existence depends upon the success of their political knavery.

We must expect, and we do expect every artifice which human invention is capable of, will be brought to their aid. No mean will be left untried—no money will be spared—no time or exertion wanting to again immerse this State in the pestilential waters of federal bribery. It is freely resorted to, at the most efficient ex-

the people rule! Disgusted with the search for truth about the much
bribed Treasury Bill and Edition's
remains under the sun. There
is no office to which they
have not been impelled into
great greatness, all in the
name of a man who is
not fit to be a member of
the House. He is willing to
lure us to his side, and to reward
us for our support. If you wish that the people
will be free, and to transmit that
truth. This is not ex-

clusive. Yes, already has one of the leaders of the federal
party been brought to the Bar of our Court in answer
for attempting to bribe his fellow freemen to vote the fed-
eral ticket. And should they continue as they have begun,
our Penitentiaries and State Prisons could not
contain the half of the candidates for these places. Oppression
in another measure which is wielded by the r-
against the poor with unfeeling, but not without a
reward. It has become a notorious practice, as Sheriff's and their Deputies, through the country,
when they have demands against certain states, to force
them, and unless they will pliantly yield, lenity is freely given
to Kent, and if they will, lenity is freely given
to them, to pour out upon their devoted heads visits of the
most unmitigated oppression.—A moment since while
I have been writing the above, a man of responsibility,
and good standing in the community, informed me, that
an opulent Federalist called upon him a few days since
to pay a demand he held against him—he paid him—after
which, his Lordship replied, if you had been a good
republican, I should not have troubled you now to pay this.

Such are the federal weapons of warfare; and such
are the arguments used by the "rag" and "spunging"
party. Bribery and oppression, imposition and treachery,
 falsehood and scandal, walk up and down our streets
naked and shameless. Office holders and incumbents
expectant, are traversing our County with their carriages burdened with filthy lies, while their pockets are
crammed with Massachusetts *hired rags*, in pursuit of
some humble democrat, whose pecuniary circumstances
might induce them for a paltry sum of money, to avert
from the holy and consecrated path of Democracy, to
the hy and forbidden pool of federalism.

With these facts before our eyes shall we longer remain idle. I fear there is too much apathy with the democracy of this County. I fear we are doting too much upon our own security. There can be no doubt about the election of our County officers; but we have a double duty to perform. We must not only elect our own officers, but we must strike a triumphant blow for the victory of the State.

A CITIZEN.

DEMOCRATS! AWAKE!
And when they talk of him, they shake their heads;
And whisper one another in the ear;
And he, that speaks, doth gripe the hearer's wrist;
Whilst he, that hears, makes fearful action,
With wrinkled brows, with nods, with rolling eyes.
I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,
With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news;
Whilst his shears and measure in his hand,
Stand like cutters (which likeable haste
Had falsely taken upon contrary feet.)
Told of many thousand unlikely odds.
That were endebated, and ranked in Kent."

Shakespeare's King John

That the present should be a period of unusual political excitement throughout the Union we cannot wonder when we reflect on the deeply interesting form which the grand political questions of the day have assumed, together with the thrilling topics and events which have recently agitated our political arena. On the one side we have the mounted monopolists of the country, interested already with the spirit of peculiar privileges, striving with restless vigilance, by intrigue, insinuation, and corruption, to resist the government, and obtain the power, at which they are forever grasping, and on the other a brave and free majority of the people by experience and by nature democratic, who feel and practice the principles of natural equity, and are willing to suffer malignant injury and individual embarrassment for their country's good, while the issue of this struggle presents a subject which warmly interests the world. With this view of the ruling principles of the present opposing parties, with a grateful conviction that a great majority of our nation are yet republican at heart, Maine is now the point where the interests of Democracy are most directly involved and to which the eye of freedom as well as usurpation is most anxiously directed, and that ours is a weighty responsibility, such as perhaps was never before experienced. We should regard our own political struggle, and the important campaign in which we are already engaged and so soon to decide.

That the Democracy of Maine have now to struggle, with every obstacle which ceaseless vigilance, cunning, stratagem, minded corruption and insolent desperation can place in their way we may be assured from the character, condition, and resources of the opposing party.

Under usual circumstances the federal party are never wanting in effort—time is devoted, money is lavished, names are exchanged and pretended principles are forgotten while those which have received their birth abroad are adopted, whether fortune enables or circumstances require, then what are we to expect, when a partial ascendancy through the false security of the democracy has inspired them with artificial courage, filled our State with a horde of partisan public officers, whose all (the emoluments) are at stake, and who have already been publicly admonished of their doom, but the certain encounter of the most subtle and desperate warfare.

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All the weapon which is required to counteract these

extraordinary efforts in truth—truth to sustain the intel-

ligence and truth to direct the wavering; let this be

wielded faithfully, with a fearless and persevering hand

and notwithstanding the insolent pretensions of our as-

sembled opponents we may surely say, (as did the

illustrious Perry on the glorious 10th of September) "We

have met the enemy and they are ours."

A LOOKER-ON.

TURNER, August, 1838.

From the Portland Standard.

OXFORD. We learn, with great satisfaction, that our democratic friends in the County of Oxford are preparing to signalize the 10th of September by another magnificent victory. How idle is the Federal boast of a "tremendous gulf"! Oxford—as if the independent year
again, the post with unfeeling, but not without a

reward. It has become a notorious practice, as Sheriff's and their Deputies, through the country, when they have demands against certain states, to force them, and unless they will pliantly yield, lenity is freely given

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A LOOKER-ON.

TURNER, August, 1838.

every able and faithful officer within his reach, and appointed those notoriously incompetent in their stead.

EDWARD KENT has retarded the settlement of the Boundary Question, and inflicted a severe blow upon the interests of

From the Eastern Argus.

The efforts of the Federalists.

Read This!

We have repeatedly called the attention of our readers to the extraordinary efforts of the federalists, and to the unprecedented high state of discipline to which their ranks have been brought.—There has never, before, been anything like it in this State—and to resist it successfully our friends must all buckle on their armor in good earnest.—A large number of us in relation to the plan of operations adopted by the federalists, have been communicated to us from different sources. Some of them it is not expedient, at this time, to expose. In one County, (and we do not know but what it is so in all) we are informed by a very shrewd and intelligent man, who has been in their counsels, that the following course is to be pursued.—We desire the reader to note it carefully, and recollect that it is the offspring of the party, which professes to be willing to leave the election to the unbaised will of the people.

Federal Plan of Operations.

A place near the poll to be obtained for the Head Quarters of the party. A person to be employed and paid as Head Agent. Every school district to have a committee of seven, who will pledge themselves to the Agent, not to leave their district until every federalist or doubtful man has been sent to the polls. Every federalist to be furnished with at least two votes, before leaving home. The voters to be got to the Head Quarters where refreshments will be furnished, two hours before the poll is opened.—One hour before the polls are opened, all except committee men to go to a particular portion of the building where the votes are to be taken—there to be kept together, and FLANKED ROUND WITH LEADING MEN, SO THAT NO COMMUNICATION CAN BE HAD WITH THOSE OF DIFFERENT POLITICS. When the polls are opened, Committee men are to superintend the voting, and to manage to see that the doubtful or dishonest live up to their agreement. In order to aid the getting of their voters to the polls, there are to be head quarters in each school district, to which the carriages from the villages are to be sent.

The exercise of the right of suffrage under such a system of surveillance, is an idle mockery.—There is no such thing as freedom about it, and it reduces those who submit themselves to it to the degradation of slaves—to exactly the position to which the federal aristocracy aim to degrade the common people. When they can make automations of them, to be easily pulled this way or that with a string or a wire, the federal party will be in its glory—the millennium of federalism will have arrived. But that day will never come—such efforts o'erleap themselves—already do we hear of moderate and thinking men, heretofore inclined to go with the federal party, denouncing its system of organization as calculated and designed to degrade those whom the leaders aspire to lead. Pening up men like sheep or oxen will not answer for this meridian—it might have answered in feudal States, but is out of place here. Let the people reflect, and consider what a party willing to resort to such means to gain strength would do if it had the power!! How small a measure of liberty would be left to the citizen under such rulers!

We have also had forwarded to us the following copy of a circular issued by the federal State Committee, which gives us a little insight into the minuteness of the organization of that party. The inquiry "HOW AND BY WHAT MEANS" certain results can be produced, is undoubtedly made with a view to the distribution of the electioneering fund raised in Boston, to buy up the "PAUPERS, SQUATTERS AND SWINDLERS" as the Boston Atlas calls the people of the State. Col. Lyman's "it" will be found an important word—and we have no objection to conceding that IF the federalists had a majority of the votes, they would elect their Governor. The Colonel's Circular, is not very well put together—but we suppose its limping must be excused on the score of his pressing duties Packer and Distributor General of the Voice of the Office Holders, and the Eastern Republican. The Circular is marked "confidential," dated at Portland, and says:—

"Dear Sir—A meeting of the majority of the whig committee has been held for the three days past. We have received full returns from all the towns in the State, which shew that the whigs can carry the State, in Sept., if every whig in every town in the State, does his duty and his whole duty from this time to the day of election. A firm reliance upon our whig friends, their zeal and devotion, give us assurance of success. To render the result easy, and success certain, the State Committee have prepared a table for your County that shews you the returns in each town in your County, and the estimated whig vote at Sept. election. By coming up to the amount required of your County, you will do your part towards ensuring us the victory. You will forthwith cause each town committee to be furnished with the requisition upon their respective towns, with such directions or suggestions as each case may require—and if possible, in every case, employ some suitable person to carry it to each town committee in person. You will also furnish each town committee with a correct list of the votes in each town, carefully prepared by you. And ascertain if each town will give us the number of whig votes estimated, or give us a comparative gain from last year equal to that, by increasing our majority or re-

ducing that of our opponents. If each town cannot come up to the estimate, in the opinion of the town committee, you will forthwith apprise us of the fact, and the reason for such deficiency, and state to us, HOW AND BY WHAT MEANS the desired result may be reached. All this information, with correct estimates, prepared by you, you will furnish to the State Committee, as soon as the 10th of August. It is through you only that the State Committee can ascertain the true state of things in each town in your county.

Upon the County Committee, in each County, therefore, the responsibility of the coming election must rest. The importance of the coming election, the goodness of the cause, the anxious expectations of the whole Union, turns upon Maine, awaiting the result. This should inspire every whig in the State with a zeal and earnestness that will certainly carry us forward to victory. The chairman of each committee will cause a copy of the enclosed table to be transmitted to each member of the County Committee without delay. The correct return, sealed up with wax, in ADDITION TO A WAFFER, are requested to be sent by mail or otherwise to S. R. LYMAN."

Signed by S. R. Lyman and others as "Whig State Committee."

From the Augusta Age.

Federal Extravagance.

We give below the official statement of the excess of the appropriations made by Congress for the last nine years, above the estimates submitted, and the amounts asked for, by the Executive department, by which it will be seen that the statement in a late number of our paper as to the excess of 1836, did not come up to the truth:—

Years.	Excess.
1829	\$1,245,460
1830	2,712,845
1831	1,735,780
1832	5,553,652
1833	4,700,201
1834	2,911,503
1835	2,736,781
1836	19,632,892
1837	17,073,921

\$57,303,025

Here are upwards of FIFTY SEVEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS appropriated in nine years, for which the President never asked. By whose votes, was it effected?

Here is, for the last nine years, an average annual excess of the appropriations above the estimates, of SIX MILLIONS, THREE HUNDRED & SIXTY SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. By whose votes, was it effected?

We answer, that these facts afford record statistical and documentary proof, that the federal party are solely and entirely responsible, for all the extravagance, which they now undertake to charge upon the Democratic Presidents. They prove conclusively, that that party have, by means of intrigue and log rolling, forced upon Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, appropriations, which they did not want, and for which they never asked. And now we ask candid men, what the Federal party, would have done, had they not been partially checked by the executive veto, and what they would do, if they get full possession of all the departments of Government? They are essentially the party of high taxes and great expenditures. They love a splendid government and they want a pretext for high traffic. On the other hand, the instinct of the Democracy, are all favorable to economy. They believe the legitimate powers of the Government, to be few and simple, and they desire, to see them exercised, in a cheap, plain and unostentatious manner. They do not begrudge the money necessary for the defence of the country, they do not bemoan, with the hard hearted spirit of a close fisted miser, the sums expended for the defence of the wives and children, of their distant brethren of the South and West, against the tomahawk of the cruel and ferocious Indian, and they are willing to do justice to the surviving veterans of the revolution. But their motto has ever been, the best place for the money of the people, is their own pockets,

At a Court of Probate held at Fryeburg, within and for the county of Oxford, on the seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty eight. DANIEL BEAN, Administrator of the estate of James Steele of Bradford, in said county, deceased, having presented his second account of administration of the estate of said deceased.

Ordered, That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, and the Eastern Republican. The Circular is marked "confidential," dated at Portland, and says:—

"Dear Sir—A meeting of the majority of the whig committee has been held for the three days past. We have received full returns from all the towns in the State, which shew that the whigs can carry the State, in Sept., if every whig in every town in the State, does his duty and his whole duty from this time to the day of election. A firm reliance upon our whig friends, their zeal and devotion, give us assurance of success. To render the result easy, and success certain, the State Committee have prepared a table for your County that shews you the returns in each town in your County, and the estimated whig vote at Sept. election. By coming up to the amount required of your County, you will do your part towards ensuring us the victory. You will forthwith cause each town committee to be furnished with the requisition upon their respective towns, with such directions or suggestions as each case may require—and if possible, in every case, employ some suitable person to carry it to each town committee in person. You will also furnish each town committee with a correct list of the votes in each town, carefully prepared by you. And ascertain if each town will give us the number of whig votes estimated, or give us a comparative gain from last year equal to that, by increasing our majority or re-

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The subscriber hereby gives public notice that he has given his son Charles W. Hobbs his time until he is twenty-one years of age, with power to act and trade for himself; he will claim none of his earnings nor pay any debts of his contracting after this date.

ISAIAH WHITTEMORE, Dept. Sh. Jr., Paris, July 14th, 1838.

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W. E. BROOKS.

Witness—Oss Crooker.

Oxford, June 23, 1838.

New Doctrine.

We will consider the brain and the spinal marrow as the galvanic battery, and the nerves as the conductors of the galvanic current, fluid, in which originate all our motions, pleasures, pain, feelings, affections, thoughts, and sentiments; and yet as the nerves form a part of our system, their healthy action depends upon the blood. If the blood be vitiated, the nervous fluid from the blood must be the same, and vitiated nervous fluid cannot produce healthy or proper motion, thoughts, feelings or actions. The American public naturally viewed them with suspicion, but as on trial they were found what they professed, it was soon dispelled by the greatest confidence.

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